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"And hence it is that we should all welcome and aid, as far as we can, the effort to dispense with the necessity of war altogether. Even if this effort may not be entirely successful, every movement which tends to discourage war, and to furnish a means of avoiding it, ought to receive and does receive the earnest support of an organization that has the purposes and principles that actuate the Society of Christian Endeavor."

How Commerce Promotes Peace.

By John Ball Osborne.

ADDRESS GIVEN AT THE THIRD NATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS, BALTIMORE, MAY 5, 1911.

My topic, "How Commerce Promotes Peace," might logically be reversed to read "How Peace Promotes Commerce," for commerce is completely dependent upon peace. The timidity of capital is proverbial; the mere suggestion of business disturbances frightens it into hiding-places from which it can be coaxed only when it is convinced that the danger is past. International commerce, representing as it does today the largest investment of capital in the world, with an approximate annual valuation of thirteen and a half million dollars, is extremely sensitive to whatever influences encourage or discourage capital. So long as peace prevails commerce flourishes and grows apace, registering in its development the growth of wealth and prosperity of the trading countries; but the moment rumors of coming war circulate commerce begins to seek new channels where it will be least exposed to attack, and, with the outbreak of hostilities, it dwindles rapidly. No matter how extensive and powerful the naval and military establishments may be which offer their protection, commerce is never sufficiently reassured to thrive while hostilities last. Thus it is that peace is vitally necessary to commerce.

Modern international commerce is very unlike that of earlier times. The student of history, in considering the influence of commerce on peace among nations, is apt to draw illustrations from the past where commerce has apparently furnished the provocation for war. This was particularly true under the old policy of colonial conquest and colonization pursued for several centuries by the leading European nations; at first by Spain and Portugal, and later by England and France. Under this predatory system of commerce distant colonies, acquired by discovery or conquest, were exploited mercilessly and their resources drained with the sole purpose of increasing the wealth and power of the mother country; regardless of the welfare of the colonial possessions. Naturally the struggle for commercial supremacy based on such a selfish system resulted in a series of bloody and exhausting wars.

But today there are no new fields for colonial conquest; nor are there any extensive territories that remain unexplored. Practically the entire world is partitioned and the boundaries of the various political entities are well established and recognized by all civilized powers. Moreover, the spirit of conquest is no longer rampant, but has given way to the spirit of forbearance and mutual conciliation. Under these conditions commerce has become an eminently peaceful pursuit, mutually beneficial to the nations engaged therein. In fact, international commerce is the paramount power in the civilized world, and it furnishes the subject-matter of most of the questions that require consideration in the foreign relations of the various governments. Commercial diplomacy, therefore, has taken the place of the old political diplomacy, which means that the influences that make for peace are in control in the Foreign Offices of the world.

Modern commerce rests fairly and squarely upon the broad and equitable principles of reciprocity. Consequently, when we consider commerce as an agency in promoting peace we must look beyond the selfish viewpoint and narrow horizon of the old mercantilists, or perhaps of even the modern ultra-protectionists, and consider the movement of imports as well as of exports in our trade relations with foreign countries, for it is the principle of mutuality of trade interests that constitutes the best safeguard for the preservation of peace among trading nations.

By this reasoning we arrive at the basic proposition that the closer the commercial ties the better the outlook for permanent peace. It is obvious, I think, that the closer and more numerous the ties created between two nations by commercial relationship, the greater will be the reluctance on the part of either to begin a war against the other. These commercial ties make the damages possible by war so much greater than any gains derivable from it that the love of peace and the horror of war are both intensified, and thus expanding commerce furnishes an increasing security against war.

It may be of interest to take note of some of the various commercial ties which bind modern nations in a community of interest and a state of interdependence. Such a study of trade relations should include more than the movement of imports and exports of merchandise, although this is, of course, the largest item in the equation of international indebtedness. It should take account also of the navigation movement; the international railway traffic; cable and telegraphic communication between nations; the financial investments by citizens of one country in another country; the returns from these investments flowing from the debtor country to the creditor country; the remittances of money made by immigrants to families and friends in the fatherland, and numerous minor elements which enter into the general business relations between nations.

What we may term extraterritorial investments of capital constitute one of the most important phases of the business relations between modern nations. Although primarily classifiable under the head of finance, these interests are closely linked to commerce, for the investment of foreign capital usually promotes commerce between the lending and the borrowing country, particularly as regards the supply of machinery and other materials required in the industrial enterprises

for which the foreign capital is employed. An eminent economist has said that "a cosmopolitan loan fund exists which runs everywhere as it is wanted, and as the rate of interest tempts it." Everyone knows, however, that money is too cautious to run into any foreign country unless peaceful conditions prevail there and are likely to continue. The foreign investments of capital among the nations reach a gigantic total, probably in the neighborhood of \$40,000,000,000, of which great Britain is represented by at least \$15,000,000,000; Germany and France each by \$8,000,000,000, and the United States by \$1,750,000,000, of which at least \$750,000,000 are placed in Mexico and \$300,000,000 in Canada.

The international exhibitions, which are held at frequent intervals in all the leading countries of the world, are another effective means of extending international commerce, and, at the same time, promoting the cause of peace. Take, for example, the International Exposition at Turin, which is now in progress. Our Congress appropriated the sum of \$130,000, which has enabled the United States to be officially represented with a creditable building of its own. The industrial exhibits by American citizens at Turin will surely lead to a gratifying extension of the sales of American products in that part of the world, and, what is far more important, the already friendly relations between the two nations will become even more cordial than hitherto, for the participation of the United States is highly appreciated by the Italian government and people.

The numerous international congresses that are held in various countries each year exercise the same salutary influence for peace. They bring together leaders of thought and action in many countries, and send them away inspired by the spirit of mutual conciliation and with a better understanding respecting the viewpoints of the different nationalities represented at the Congress. There were no less than twenty international congresses held at Brussels in 1910, in connection with the International Exposition. The moral atmosphere of some of the international congresses often foreshadows, perhaps faintly, but yet unmistakably, a universal brotherhood of man. I participated in such a gathering at London last summer—the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce held under the auspices of the London Chamber of Commerce. It was attended by 450 delegates, representing every commercial power of any consequence in the world. Great Britain and her colonies sent representatives from 58 commercial bodies, Germany from 17, France from 16, Austria from 12, and so on. The American delegation at London brought forward for consideration the proposal of Secretary of State Knox for the establishment of a permanent court of arbitral justice for the settlement of all disputes between nations. This most important proposition will undoubtedly be the subject of favorable action by the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce to be held at Boston in 1912.

Another influence that is calculated to contribute to the cause of peace relates to the increasing tourists' movement between countries, favored by the improvement of the facilities for traveling. This movement is rapidly breaking down the barriers that separate the different nations, and the result is better trade relations and closer international friendships. In recent years there have been several instances where large parties of the business men of one country have made a systematic

tour of the commercial and industrial centers of foreign countries with which they were engaged in trade. A party of 100 business men from various parts of Germany made an excursion of this kind to Turkey in 1908. This example was followed by a party of 150 Roumanian business men. In 1909 a Turkish commercial delegation of 245 persons, representing the various branches of commerce in the leading cities of Turkey, visited the principal commercial and manufacturing centers of Austria-Hungary. It is reported that large orders were placed as a result of the visit. In 1908 a party of American business men, delegates from chambers of commerce on the Pacific coast, visited Japan, and were handsomely entertained by the Japanese chambers of commerce. A return visit to the United States was made a year or so ago by members of the Japanese commercial bodies. This exchange of visits by representative business men engaged in manufacturing for the commerce between the two countries has already been productive of good results in cementing the friendship between the United States and Japan. In the latter part of 1910 representatives of several chambers of commerce in the Pacific Coast States made a tour of China and were everywhere accorded a warm welcome. They are now making plans for the return visit which leading business men of China expect to make to the United States this summer. This exchange of visits will undoubtedly result in increased trade and more cordial international relations. The Boston Chamber of Commerce, always progressive and always on the right side of every great moral question, is now making arrangements for a visit to European countries by a party of 100 American business men. The double purpose of the trip is to bring about closer industrial and commercial relations between the United States and European countries and to extend official invitations, on behalf of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, to European chambers of commerce to attend the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce which will be held in Boston in 1912. Every one will admit that whoever goes on a business tour of this kind goes on a mission that contributes directly to the cause of international peace.

The principle that intimate commercial relations are an effective guarantee of peace is well illustrated by our trade relations with Great Britain, Germany, and France, the three best customers of the United States in Europe. Notwithstanding the comparatively limited area of the United Kingdom, the total trade of the United States with that country amounted last year to more than \$776,000,000, or 40 per cent of our total trade with Europe and about 24 per cent of that with the entire world. Of this vast amount, our imports represented \$271,000,000, or just about one-third of our total imports from Europe, while our exports were in excess of \$500,000,000, or about 45 per cent of our total exports to Europe.

As regards Germany, our total trade was in the neighborhood of \$450,000,000, of which Germany's imports of American products represented \$300,000,000. Our total trade with France amounted last year to \$250,000,000, of which our imports were somewhat in excess of our exports.

But, as I have already said, in order to obtain the true international perspective, we must look beyond the exchange of commodities, great as it is. Mr. George

Paish, editor of the *Statist*, has recently estimated that the fixed investments of foreign capital in the United States reach a total of \$6,000,000,000, of which Great Britain has furnished \$3,500,000,000, Germany \$1,000,000,000, and France \$500,000,000. On the other hand, the fixed investments of American capital in England, Germany, and France are relatively small. Another important consideration is that American tourists spend annually in Europe, particularly in the three countries mentioned, enormous sums of money, often estimated as high as \$200,000,000.

The great mutual interdependence between the United States and the powers above mentioned is revealed by a study of the statistics of the commercial movement. England requires our cattle, wheat, flour, and other breadstuffs, meat products, raw cotton, copper, refined oil, and unmanufactured tobacco. We need British chemicals, colonial india rubber and diamonds, tin, raw wool, certain classes of cutlery and machinery, and certain grades of cotton and woolen textiles to supplement our own production.

Germany is vitally dependent upon our raw cotton and copper, and to a large extent on our breadstuffs, lard, refined oil, and unmanufactured tobacco. On the other hand, we are absolutely dependent on Germany for potash as a fertilizer required in our agriculture to restore to the soil the properties that have been taken from it. We require her colonial rubber, and we find Germany an excellent source from which to supplement our requirements in cotton knit goods, laces, and toys.

France leans heavily on the United States for raw cotton, copper, refined oil, and to some extent for agricultural implements. Reciprocally, we are dependent upon France for many articles of high luxury, such as art works, laces and embroideries, silks, and champagne.

An endless procession of vessels is employed to carry this vast commerce to and fro across the Atlantic Ocean, and hundreds of thousands of producers in each country are dependent for their livelihood and the support of their families upon the uninterrupted continuance of this flourishing commerce.

The prosperity of the United Kingdom, Germany, and France is our prosperity. Anything that cripples their purchasing power must inevitably react adversely on our selling power and industrial welfare. Similarly, whatever cripples their productive agencies must react unfavorably on the interests of the American consumers. Industrial depression, financial disturbance, and popular distress with any one of them is sure to be reflected, sooner or later, in this country, and *vice versa*, as was demonstrated abundantly three or four years ago when the financial crisis in the United States had its reflex action in Europe. These simple economic truths, predicated on the solidarities of commerce, show how desirable it is that the spirit of mutual conciliation should prevail in international relations.

Robert Burns

AFTER A BRITISH VICTORY.

Ye hypocrites, are these your pranks?
To murder men and give God thanks?
For shame, give over, proceed no further,
God won't accept your thanks for murder!

The Emotional Evils of War.

By George H. Danton.

AN ADDRESS GIVEN AT THE SIXTH ANNUAL DINNER OF
THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY ALUMNI ASSOCIATION
OF INDIANA ON APRIL 1.

A great deal has been said* recently about the emotional value of war; many people who feel that war is bad from every other point of view, from the kinetic, the humane, from the economic, have felt that the emotional stimulus derived therefrom compensates for these other evils. The German philosopher Kant, says in his *Critique of Judgment*: "Even war, when carried on with order and regard for civil rights, has something sublime in it and makes so much more sublime the quality of the thinking of the nation which conducts it, the more dangers such a nation has been subjected to and has bravely withstood. A long peace, on the other hand, fosters only the commercial spirit, and with this, low selfishness, and so lowers the quality of the people's thinking." This bit of Kantian philosophy has permeated the works of a good many writers, and even recently, in the pamphlets of the Society for International Conciliation, Professor James, certainly a most high authority, pointed out this emotional, this educative value of war. To be sure, Professor James sought for a substitute, but that he felt the necessity of such a substitute is the significant feature.

It is the purpose of this very brief paper to take a different stand—to point out that war, instead of being of value as a stimulus, is of decided harm; that, instead of raising the emotional quality of a nation, it lowers its tone, and that the nation which really goes through a war comes out of it emotionally worse than it went in.

In the first place, let us look at a few externals. War is a phase of human activity which deals very largely with figures. For the great mass of the people in any country a war is a matter of report; only the soldiers who fight go through the war itself; the rest read about it, sympathize, and, perhaps, grieve—that is, war affects them through what is read about it. There is no commonplace truer than that which says that figures lie. The general notion is that they lie by excess, but in reality, considered emotionally, they lie by being too conservative. Since I wrote this out the first time, the same point has been made by a recent writer in the *New York Nation*, who points out how delimiting all figures are. To the thinking man, especially to the feeling man, they are not a spur, but a fetter. Take the countless stars of the sky. In moments of inspiration we are lifted to them, and the clearness, the sparkle, the wonder of them never cease. But when, in moments of weakness, we wonder how many there really are, and a cold-blooded astronomer tells us that all that can be seen with the naked eye are about 2,500; when he tells us this with the assurance born of experience and calculation, he breaks down all our joy in the limitless and sets a finite goal to our imagination.

Apply this same theory to so prosaic a thing as the cost of war. Select one item, and say that a battleship costs so and so many millions of dollars, and we stop at and are stopt by that figure. The poetry of it is gone; the very horror of it is gone; the magnitude really

*The author, not the editor, is responsible for the simplified spelling.